

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 ARA-10 EA-10
NEA-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00
INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
TRSE-00 OMB-01 HA-05 /110 W
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O 040149Z AUG 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2763
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 03096

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA
SUBJECT: CONTACT GROUP MEETING WITH SPECIAL
REPRESENTATIVE AHTISAARI

1. SUMMARY. THE CONTACT GROUP MET AUGUST 3 WITH UN
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR NAMIBIA AHTISAARI. THE
MEETING PROVIDED A USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS
PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE ON THE SURVEY MISSION TO NAMIBIA.
AHTISAARI ADVISED THE GROUP OF SOME OF HIS CURRENT
THOUGHTS ON THE MISSION AND ON UN PLANNING IN GENERAL,
BUT THE MEETING FOCUSED ON THE SURVEY MISSION ITSELF.
THE GROUP STRESSED THE NEED TO RETURN TO THE SECURITY
COUNCIL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND THE DANGERS OF SUBSTAN-
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TIVE DISCUSSION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS ON THE UN'S
LIKELY ROLE IN NAMIBIA. THE GROUP URGED THAT THE MISSION
CONFINE ITSELF TO FACT-FINDING AND THE DETERMINA-
TION OF THE KIND OF MACHINERY WHICH THE UN WOULD NEED;
IT SHOULD NOT INVOLVE THE SOUTH AFRICANS IN DISCUSSION
OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. THE LATTER SHOULD BE LEFT FOR
DEVELOPMENT AFTER THE UN IS ON THE GROUND. AHTISAARI

SHOULD BE AWARE THAT BOTH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA WOULD SEEK DETAILS IN INITIAL STAGE WHICH HAD BEEN DELIBERATELY LEFT OPEN. AHTISAARI, CORDIAL THROUGHOUT, TOOK THE POINTS, ALTHOUGH IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW FULLY. END SUMMARY.

2. THE CONTACT GROUP MET PM AUGUST 3 WITH UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR NAMIBIA MARTTI AHTISAARI AT HIS REQUEST. THE TWO-HOUR MEETING WAS FRIENDLY AND FRANK AND PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A TIMELY AND USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. AHTISAARI BEGAN THE MEETING BY MAKING SOME COMMENTS ON HIS APPROACH AND ON THE PLANNING UNDERWAY. HE SAID THAT THE UN SURVEY MISSION WOULD BE ARRIVING IN NAMIBIA IN GOOD FAITH AND IN THE EXPECTATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN COOPERATION. HE WOULD TOUCH BASE WITH ALL POLITICAL GROUPS AND HOPED TO ENCOURAGE THE CHURCHES TO PLAY A PACIFYING ROLE. HE ASSERTED THAT HE WOULD "STICK TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE PROPOSAL". (IN THIS REGARD HE NOTED THAT IN COMMENTING ON PIK BOTHA'S INSISTENCE ON THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE PROPOSAL, HE HAD TOLD SOUTH AFRICAN CHARGE EKSTEEN, "IF YOU SPEAK OF THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE PROPOSAL, YOU CANNOT BE SPEAKING OF INDEPENDENCE ON DECEMBER 31, 1978." EKSTEEN HAD APPARENTLY REPLIED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD A POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO THAT DATE BUT THAT IT WOULD CONSIDER CONFIDENTIAL

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THE CIRCUMSTANCES AS THEY DEVELOP.)

3. OTHER INITIAL COMMENTS BY AHTISAARI INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

(A) NEITHER SOUTH AFRICA NOR SWAPO WOULD HAVE VETO POWER OVER ANY ASPECTS OF UN PLANNING;

(B) REGISTRATION OF VOTERS: AHTISAARI WILL REVIEW WHAT HAS BEEN DONE. HE STATED THAT THEORETICALLY SOME OF IT MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE, BUT "POLITICALLY I DON'T SEE ANY WAY WE COULD ACCEPT WHAT THEY'VE DONE. WE MUST CREATE A NEW CLIMATE".

(C) CEASEFIRE: THE PROPOSAL IS VERY CLEAR ON THE CEASEFIRE, HE STATED, "IF ONE ACCEPTS THE PROPOSAL, ONE MUST ACCEPT THE CEASEFIRE". AT THE SAME TIME HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE REPEAL OF DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION MIGHT BE SPEEDED UP. HE RECOGNIZED HOWEVER, THAT CONTRARY TO NUJOMA'S VIEWS, THE PROPOSAL STATED THAT THE CEASEFIRE MUST BE THE FIRST STEP.

(D) TIMING OF ELECTIONS: AHTISAARI STATED THAT HE DID NOT WANT THE UN TO CAUSE UNNECESSARY DELAY BUT HE COULD NOT SEE HOW ELECTIONS COULD BE HELD BEFORE MARCH.

(E) ASSOCIATION OF THE FIVE WITH THE SURVEY MISSION: IN RESPONSE TO A GERMAN QUESTION, AHTISAARI REITERATED HIS KNOWN POSITION THAT ANY INVOLVEMENT OF THE FIVE IN THE SURVEY TEAM WOULD BE UNHELPFUL. HE ADDED: "IT WILL NOT INCREASE THE CREDIBILITY OF OUR EXERCISE IF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FIVE ARE HANGING AROUND WINDHOEK".

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L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 OMB-01 HA-05
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2764
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
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AHTISAARI STATED THAT HE WAS MENTALLY PREPARED TO STAY IN NAMIBIA FOR THREE WEEKS, ADDING WITH A SMILE: "DESPITE THE PICTURES I'VE SEEN OF THE PLACE".

4. AHTISAARI'S EXPECTATION OF A THREE-WEEK MISSION TO NAMIBIA LED TO A LENGTHY DISCUSSION, WHICH DOMINATED THE REMAINDER OF THE MEETING, ON THE EXTENT AND PURPOSE

OF THE MISSION. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY, JOINED BY UK AMBASSADOR RICHARD, EXPRESSED GREAT CONCERN OVER THE DANGER OF THE SURVEY MISSION TAKING TOO LONG AND THE WHOLE SETTLEMENT BLOWING UP IN THE MEANTIME. MCHENRY AGREED WITH THE NEED FOR CAREFUL PREPARATION OF THE UN'S ROLE BUT DREW ATTENTION TO THE RISK THAT IN
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THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THE CEASEFIRE CONSIDERABLE VIOLENCE COULD OCCUR. AMBASSADOR RICHARD EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO HAVE THE SECOND STAGE OF SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION COMPLETED BY THE END OF AUGUST AFTER WHICH AN UNHELPLESS PRESIDENT WOULD HEAD THE COUNCIL, ADDING THAT THE LONGER THE SURVEY MISSION LASTS, THE HARDER IT WILL BE TO GAIN APPROVAL OF THE MANDATE.

5. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY THEN EXPRESSED HIS HOPE THAT WITH REGARD TO ITS PLANNING THE SURVEY MISSION WOULD CONFINE ITSELF TO OBTAINING INFORMATION NECESSARY FOR THE DESIGNING OF THE STRUCTURE AND MACHINERY OF THE UN PRESENCE. HE HOPED THAT THE MISSION WOULD NOT DISCUSS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS HOW UN MIGHT IMPLEMENT THE PROPOSAL. TO THE EXTENT THAT SUBSTANCE IS DISCUSSED WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS, HE SUGGESTED, THERE WOULD BE TROUBLE. THE FIVE'S HOPE, MCHENRY ADDED, IS THAT SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO CAN BE HOOKED FURTHER INTO THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS (THROUGH PASSAGE OF THE SECOND RESOLUTION) BEFORE SUCH SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AS COMPOSITION OF THE UN FORCE, TIMING OF THE ELECTIONS, PROCEDURES FOR MONITORING THE POLICE, ETC., ARE BROACHED. THOSE ISSUES NEED NOT BE RAISED IN THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT WHICH SHOULD BE BRIEF IN ACCORDANCE WITH PAST UN PRACTICE. SPECIFICALLY, IT WOULD NOT BE WISE TO DISCUSS THE DEPLOYMENT OF UN FORCES AT THIS STAGE (BOTHAS LETTER IMPLIES THAT PRIOR AGREEMENT MUST BE REACHED ON THE DEPLOYMENT, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF UN FORCES). THE DANGERS OF SUCH SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WERE HIGHLIGHTED BY AHTISAARI'S STATING THAT PIK BOTHA HAD TOLD HIM THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD REACHED A FIRM AGREEMENT WITH THE FIVE AND THAT THE UN FORCE WOULD NOT INCLUDE ANY TROOPS FROM NATIONS WHICH HAVE ENGAGED IN ACTIVITIES
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AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. ACCORDING TO AHTISAARI, BOTHA SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED FROM THE FORCE BLACK AFRICA AND THE IRON CURTAIN COUNTRIES. THE CONTACT GROUP

ASSURED AHTISAARI THAT NO SUCH AGREEMENT HAD EVER BEEN MADE AND NOTED THAT NUMEROUS FALSE OR MISLEADING STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE RECENTLY BY BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO. WE HAD TOLD THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT IN ACCORD WITH NORMAL PRACTICE THERE WOULD BE CONSULTATION WITH THE PARTIES; HOWEVER, THERE COULD BE NO VETOES.

6. AHTISAARI SEEMED TO TAKE OUR POINTS, ALTHOUGH IT'S NOT CLEAR HOW FULLY. HE HAS EVIDENTLY ENVISIONED MORE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAN HAVE WE, BUT HE CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT HE THOUGHT THERE WAS LITTLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIS VIEWS AND OURS AND THAT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF TAKING A POSITION OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WHILE IN WINDHOEK. AHTISAARI NEVER ABANDONED THE POSITION THAT THREE WEEKS IN NAMIBIA WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR CAREFUL PLANNING.

7. COMMENT. THE MEETING WAS A USEFUL AND TIMELY ONE. THE CONTACT GROUP MADE ITS POINTS, AND HOPEFULLY AHTISAARI WILL BE GUIDED BY THEM. AHTISAARI WAS, AS ALWAYS, CORDIAL THROUGHOUT. HE HAS A FIRM GRASP OF THE PLANNING WHICH IS BEING DONE AND HAS AN ACADEMIC APPRECIATION OF THE PITFALLS TO BE AVOIDED. NEVERTHELESS, HE SEEMS ALMOST TOO READY TO DEVELOP THE CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL WHICH IS ENVISIONED IN THE PROPOSAL. HE SEEMS SOMEHOW OBLIVIOUS TO THE OBSTINACY WITH WHICH THE SOUTH AFRICANS WILL GREET HIM. IF HE DEVIATES FROM FACT-FINDING AND DISCUSSES

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WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS HIS IDEAS ON SUBSTANCE,
HE WOULD BE IN WINDHOEK FOR THE NEXT 16 MONTHS
NEGOTIATING WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS ON POSITIONS
WHICH SHOULD EVOLVE IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL.
WE WILL REITERATE THIS IN INFORMAL CONTACT WITH AHTISAARI
AND HIS STAFF PRIOR TO THEIR DEPARTURE ON SATURDAY.
END COMMENT. LEONARD

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